2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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There is one outstanding case of a Class A family which has been "helped" by spiritualism. This family had not been too well liked in the town and felt that evil was being worked against it. It was claimed that a local medium prevented harm to the father of this family through the medium's spirit. The father became convinced of the value of spiritualism and converted his wife to it. They now make no move without first consulting the spirits, and they frequently call the medium to their house in Salvador for aid. The urban upper class is no stranger to spiritualism, and even those who make no use of mediums and spiritualistic sessions seem to consider themselves possible victims of spiritualism. A decade or so ago, experiments with spiritualism, such as the moving glass, were popular. These experiments gained many adherents and left many others in a state between belief and disbelief in the possibilities of spiritualism.

Protestantism

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Protestantism has made no entry in Vila Recôncavo. This is a minor point of pride among the residents, who have heard of Protestantism but know nothing about it. In other areas of the Recôncavo there have been converts, but as yet there are no Protestant churches, chapels, or house groups in Vila Recôncavo. In other communities, traveling ministers hold services in small private houses of the adherents. Just as with the African cults, there always are many onlookers standing outside who discuss the merits of the sermon and of the Bible readings and hymn singing. Those who are sufficiently impressed sometimes join, but as yet there is considerable resistance to another organized religion.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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One must not overlook the fact, however, that during the first years of colonization the letters of the Jesuits contained numerous references to Indian slaves who were "tortured and branded in the face."[54] And later, the kings of Portugal, impressed by reports which had come to them concerning hardships inflicted on Negro slaves in Brazil, more than once wrote to their colonial representatives, exhorting them "to put a stop to such crying inhumanities."[55]

Most reports of cruelties, however, date from the abolition campaign and no doubt reflect the agitation and fervor of that movement. Thus, the able Bahian abolitionist, Anselmo da Fonseca, reports the case of a Negro in Rio Grande do Sul whose wrists were tied above his head and, after honey had been poured over his nude body, was left to the insects. Anselmo further reports the raping of small children, the use of stocks, the fracturing of teeth with a ham-

from the effects of their wounds (Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 145). Fonseca estimates that two-thirds of all the *feitores* (overseers), *capitães de matto*, and *corretores* (slave dealers) in Bahia were either mulattoes or blacks (*ibid.*, p. 151).

[54] Brazilian Indians, who before the coming of the Portuguese had killed their prisoners of war, changed this custom when it was discovered that they could sell their captives to the Europeans. Subsequently the latter organized raids into the interior in search of Indian slaves. The Jesuits fought this traffic, their struggles with the colonists lending a dramatic note to accounts of life in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Gradually their influence at the Portuguese court prevailed, certain restrictions were by royal decree put upon the enslavement of Indians, which, being disregarded by the colonists, led to further Jesuit protest and finally, in 1755, to a royal edict liberating all Indian slaves. Equal legal rights were subsequently granted the Indians, the University of Coimbra was opened to them, and they were even admitted, it is said, to the nobility.

[55] A writer cites three "royal letters" in support, dated, respectively, March 20, 1688, March 1, 1700, and April 27, 1719 (see the anonymous article entitled "Tradiçoes bahianas," *Revista do Instituto Geographico e Historico da Bahia*, LVI [1930], 514).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The first recorded protest in Brazil against slavery as an institution was that of the Jesuit Manoel de Nobrega, who, shortly after Bahia was founded, sent a letter to the superior of his order in Lisbon protesting against the importation of Africans into the new settlement.

In 1758 Manoel Ribeiro da Rocha, who had been educated at Coimbra, published in Lisbon a book entitled *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corrigido, instruido e libertado*, in which the abolition of the slave trade was advocated. Sixty-five years later, in 1823, José Bonifacio de Andrade e Silva unsuccessfully proposed in parliament a measure designed to end importation by 1828. But on November 7, 1831, the regent, Padre Diogo Antonio Feijó, signed a resolution drawn up by Costa Carvalho, Lima e Sousa, and Basilio Muniz, which declared free all Africans subsequently brought into Brazil.

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Manumission existed from the first. Apparently early in the colonial period it became customary for masters to accept remuneration for original cost.[64] Public opinion demanded that an owner set at liberty any slave requesting his freedom and offering the price of his purchase.[65] The requirement was later made legally binding and enforced by law.[65a] Other slaves were given their freedom either during their master's lifetime or upon his death. The fathers of illegitimate offspring often freed their children at the baptismal font. From 1864 to 1870 large numbers of slaves were granted their freedom on agreeing to serve in the Para-

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[64] The wearing of shoes or slippers became a symbol of freedom.

[65] R. Walsh, *Notices of Brasil* (2 vols.; London, 1830), II, 391.

[65a] National Law No. 2040, September 28, 1871. See Manoel Joaquim do Nascimento e Silva, *Synopsis da legislação brasileira* (Rio, 1874), p. 460.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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became known throughout the country as an opponent of abolition, and, further, in 1791, a bishop of Pernambuco, José Joaquim da Cunha de Azevedo Coutinho, published a book in Lisbon entitled *A analyse sobre a justiça do commercio do resgate dos escravos da costa d'Africa*,[76] in which he upheld slavery as having "existed since the beginning of the world and in the lap of all religions."

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Nevertheless, some noted ecclesiastics did from time to time take up the slave cause. Padre Antonio Vieira, although he later became more cautious under "the necessity of furthering the Jesuit determination to free the Indians, even at the expense of the Negroes," delivered a sermon as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in which he said: "The fact that whites dominate blacks is due to force and not to either reason or nature." On another occasion, he said:

> O inhuman traffic in which the merchandise is men! Few masters, many slaves; masters richly dressed, slaves despised and naked; masters banqueting, slaves dying of hunger; masters swimming in gold and silver, slaves loaded down with irons; masters treating their slaves like brutes, slaves in fear and awe of their masters as if they were gods; masters present at a whipping, standing like statues of might and tyranny, slaves prostrate, their hands strapped behind their backs, like debased emblems of servitude.
>
> Peradventure these men are not our brothers?
>
> Were these souls not redeemed with the blood of the same Christ? Are not these bodies born and do they not die like ours? Do they not breathe the same air? Does not the same sky cover them? Are they not warmed by the same sun?"[77]

An archbishop of Bahia, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in an address to the *camara* in 1827, vigorously opposed slav-

[76] This book went through two editions and was translated into both French and English.

[77] *Sermões* (15 vols., 1679-1748), Vol. X, Sermon 27.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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Nagô at times spoken in Bahia and an occasional individual whose command of this language is comparable to his command of Portuguese.

The nature of Negro settlement at Bahia favored to a considerable extent the preservation of African cultural forms. Tribal units were not deliberately broken up, as in Jamaica and the United States, and the Negro was thereby able to preserve and to transmit to his children a considerable portion of his African heritage. Even on the plantations the distribution of newly imported Africans among the old-established Negroes seems not to have occurred.[8] The concentration in the city of Bahia over a long period of time of large numbers of semi-independent *negros de ganho*, around whom there gradually accumulated a considerable number of relatively unassimilated free Negroes, also favored the persistence of African cultural elements.

It is likely that Nagô was not maintained in a pure form but came to be a patois containing numerous elements from other African dialects as well as from Portuguese. A Catholic missionary, Padre Coquard, visiting Bahia in 1899 to solicit funds, spoke to the colored population in Nagô. But the sermon, preached in the ancient church of Sé, was wholly ineffective.[9]

Other African languages were spoken in Bahia.[10] Rodrigues believed that Gêge (or Ewe) was used throughout the eighteenth century and until at least the middle of the nine-

[8] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1817), I, 229 n.

[9] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–201. Perhaps another reason for this ineffectiveness was that the Negroes who were most able to understand Nagô were unassimilated Africans who, out of loyalty to the religion of their fathers, deliberately absented themselves from this ceremony of the Catholic church.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 197–230.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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African costumes, songs, and dances.[37] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[38]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[37] *Ibid.* [38] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

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In the Jesuit schools at Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mixed-blood, pure Indian, and Portuguese children were accepted with equal favor and educated together. "The chronicles of the time reveal no segregation or any other form of discrimination inspired by prejudice against the Indian; the program adopted by the padres appears to have continually fostered friendly intermingling of the races."[27]

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By the time the relatively small numbers of Indians at Bahia had been absorbed into the dominant population group, African women had been imported in sufficient numbers to continue extensively the process of race mixture. The scarcity of white, or near-white, women, at least as mates for men of the upper classes, was not now so acute as formerly; consequently, most of the sexual unions with African women were extra-legal,[28] comparable in some measure to interbreeding in our South, except that in the case of Brazil the extent of intermixture was perhaps greater.[29] Padre Nobrega wrote from Bahia in the early days of the colony: "Among the people here there are none who do not possess several *negras* from whom they have many children."[30] By 1819 the number of *mestiços* in Brazil was given as 628,000—a figure not greatly inferior to that of the whites, who were estimated at 843,000.[31] The pure Negro, it

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[27] Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

[28] Marriages with Negroes were at first frowned upon. Thus an *alvará* of 1755 which referred to marriages of white men with Indian women as "convenient and noble" condemned "staining one's self" by marrying Negroes or Jews (Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 156).

[29] See Freyre, *op. cit.*, esp. chaps. iv and v.

[30] Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted in Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

[31] Alcide d'Orbigny, *Voyage dans les deux Amériques* (Paris, 1836), p. 155, quoted in Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

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Moema, who, exhausted, perished in the billows of the sea. This unhappy Indian maiden is still today sung by the poets. . . . .

On returning from Europe, Catherina Paraguassú, endowed with a beauty that was first among her people, performed the duty of a true heroine by receiving as her guest the first Governor-general, Thomé de Souza. She and her husband made the native Indians, without the least hesitancy, subject themselves to the Portuguese dominion. And it is from Diogo Alvares Caramurú and Catherina Paraguassú that the ancient and noble house of Garcia d'Avila, so celebrated for its wealth and civic services, is descended.

Subsequent to the arrival of Thomé de Souza, Diogo had been legally married to Paraguassú. And the church soon saw to it that most, if not all, of the similarly informal unions between European men and native Indian women were "regularized in Christian marriage."

Although incoming Portuguese colonists and adventurers had readily entered into informal unions with native women, they appear at first to have hesitated before actual marriage. It was the Jesuits, we are told, who "managed to conquer in the early colonists the repugnance which they originally held toward marriages with Indian women."[5] "Most of them [the Portuguese] here," wrote Padre Nobrega from Pernambuco in 1551, "have for a long time kept Indian women from whom they have had children; but to marry them was considered a scandalous thing (*grande infamia*). They are now marrying and assuming a proper life."[6] At any rate, intermarriage eventually became a firmly established custom, sanctioned by both church and state.

Although the scarcity of European women, so notable during the first century of colonization, had by the early

[5] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 302.

[6] Padre Manoel de Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549–1560* (Rio, 1886), quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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776 the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos
177 are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

794 Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish
177 world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends
• 797 also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

539 The following story illustrates the fusion of European
177 and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as

[SALVADOR]

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798 [621] social cohesion of the community (1).

[162] [795] 1. In 1940 the population of the city and of the municipality was made up of 97.49 o/o Roman Apostolic Catholics; 1.11 o/o Protestants; 0.26 o/o Israelites; 0.62 o/o spiritualists, etc.

[797] The Catholic majority views with an evil eye the activities of foreign Protestant missionaries and condemns particularly the "disloyal methods employed by some of them" and their way of distorting the Church. Protestantism is fought in the pulpit as heresy, but never the Protestants as persons having different characteristics and toward whom one vows hostility. The antagonism between Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians is also [891] [777] placed on the purely doctrinal plane; the institutions of learning maintained by Baptists and Presbyterians are attended by Catholic students and enjoy prestige because of their "American methods."

794 798 As for the candomblés, sanctuaries devoted to the cults of African origin, the current feeling is that these rites are so many barbaric survivals that ought to be done away with, for they are a matter of shame before foreigners and tourists. In a commentary on tourism, a local journal proposes that the visit to candomblés be omitted from excursion programs, "because there can be no propaganda more negative for this Brazilian city four times a hundred years old, which has so many other interesting things to show." These cults, despite everything, enjoy relative freedom and function by virtue of police authorization. They have sometimes been prohibited and their devotees violently dispersed by police forces. Among the Blacks there are many who share the opinions of the Whites on the subject of these rites.

666 665 578 Only the rivalry between political parties provokes real tension during the election campaigns. This tension is particularly intense in the controversies in the interior of the State; it never expresses itself other than verbally; individual cases of aggression or actual conflicts between groups belonging to different political parties have become extremely rare. The ethnocentric feelings [829] of the Bahians reached great vehemence several years ago when the majority of the electors refused to elect as governor of the State a candidate who was not "born in Bahia."

[SALVADOR]

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The generally gentle and humane treatment that the owners reserved for their slaves and the efforts made by the Catholic clergy, from the beginning of the slave trade, to try to incorporate the /23/ Africans into the Catholic religion played an important role in the establishment of good relations between races in Bahia as throughout Brazil. Contrary to what occurred in the other colonial nations, where the aborigines and the imported slaves were kept in a state of segregation, like unassimilable "savages," in Brazil the natives and the Blacks were baptized, catechized, and admitted into the Church as men. Thus, numerous slaves, baptized Negroes, were no longer considered "beasts" and became "Christians," with the same title as the European colonists, having to endure neither hostility nor religious discrimination. They were taught the Christian doctrine, and the preachers endeavored to speak to them in their languages, chiefly in nagô, which had become a sort of lingua franca in which the Africans of different origins were able to understand one another. They intermarried; their marriage having been consecrated by the Church, this protected them when their masters intended to separate the spouses or sell one of the partners; they received the sacraments; they acted as witnesses in religious proceedings and participated as acolytes in religious ceremonies; they marched in the processions, carrying the standards and emblems of their brotherhoods; they were buried in the Christian cemeteries, the owners of slaves being obliged to call the priest in time to assist the dying. No one pretends by that to claim that their lives were free from suffering or that the Negroes were thus completely integrated in Catholicism. The clergy, the owners, and the civil authorities always allowed them some freedom concerning certain proceedings of their pagan cults and never forced them to embrace the official religion. They likewise permitted them to amuse themselves in their way by dances, songs, ceremonies (batuques), banquets in the manner of those of their countries of origin. From that comes this Catholicism somewhat mixed with fetishist beliefs and practices that constitutes the religion of a large part of the colored people of Bahia (1).

1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in

[SALVADOR]

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* 563 794 were refused because of their "quality." Some of the examples mentioned are evidently a matter of class discrimination rather than of race or color. Nevertheless, a morena girl reports that, although she had satisfied all the requisite conditions, she was unable to enter a third order because, as a member of the management of the order told her, it did not accept colored persons. Nevertheless in almost all the most important brotherhoods there are light "brothers" of mixed blood, who are "socially white," and even dark mulattoes. The proportion in which such persons * 563 794 463 are accepted varies according to the professional tradition of each organization. In those where merchants predominate, one finds a reflection of what has taken place in commerce: the number of dark persons is smaller there; the Father who directs one of these has more than once cautioned his associates against the opposition they show toward admitting into their ranks dark individuals who otherwise satisfy all the moral and spiritual conditions required. In the brotherhoods controlled by the liberal professions, and above all in those that from organizations of classes have become organizations of charity and mutual aid, one finds numerous colored persons, even in positions of management. In one important brotherhood, frequently mentioned by the informants as being very discriminatory, 49 o/o of the members are merchants, 22 o/o practice a liberal profession, 7 o/o are in the bureaucracy. Thus, out of the 1,004 members whose portraits can be consulted in the files of the association, 81 o/o have a white phenotype, 15.64 o/o are morenos, and 2.88 o/o light mulattoes; all the director-members are white. In another brotherhood, traditionally governed by judges, lawyers, physicians, and other members of liberal professions, there are 11 pardos among the 34 members of the board of management; in the list of its "brothers" one can identify numerous métis and even a very dark Black who occupies an important public * 563 794 793 797 office. The priests who supervise this brotherhood, members of a foreign religious order, have the right to put their veto against the names of candidates whom they judge not to be suitable for any reason whatsoever; they are not bound to give the reason for their decision; numerous members state that these priests almost always

[SALVADOR]

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*563 794 793 797 [554] give the reasons that make them oppose someone's acceptance, and that they do not use their rights to prevent the acceptance of a candidate solely because of his color. A pardo who has occupied important positions in the administration of the State and who even reached the highest offices of his brotherhood asserts that the fathers who direct it, although the majority are Europeans, maintain the best relations with /75/ dark colored persons and even appear very affectionate toward them; colored persons are able, as may be seen, to be classified socially or to confirm their status by means of institutions. The Catholic religion offers them other, similar means. This is what happens, as we have already indicated, with regard to the "judges" and the festeiros, persons chosen each year to solicit donors and to organize the solemn festivals of the patrons of the church or chapel. This choice, made by the priest responsible or by the management of the religious associations, is based on social and economic prestige, much more than on other personal attributes (except morality and reputation); thus, color has never excluded anyone from one of these functions. An observer who has often dealt with these matters can testify to this.

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*563 793 [195] [567] The Catholic priesthood is no longer a privilege of finos whites. The ecclesiastical constitutions in force during the period of slavery forbade the ordination of slaves, so that priests should not be subject to a servile condition, deprived of the liberty and authority necessary for the practice of their ministry. Slaves were excluded, not Blacks, so that at the beginning of the last century foreign travelers were astonished to see black and mulatto priests officiating in the churches of the principal Brazilian cities. At the end of the eighteenth century colored men were able to take holy orders, and the Church became a means of social ascent "for all kinds of persons of humble circumstances, whatever their racial or family origin (1)."

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1. Roger Bastide, "Religion and the Church in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, p. 339.

[SALVADOR]

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*563 793 Since that time priests who were black and of mixed blood began to distinguish themselves, in Bahia as throughout the country, as sacred orators, professors of Latin, of philosophy and rhetoric, of Portuguese, and as superiors and directors of educational institutions, prefects of studies, etc. Proud of this, the Blacks expressed their antagonism toward the mulattoes and cabôclos by repeating this quatrain: [539]

> I have seen many Negroes
> At the altar in the act of saying Mass
> And the cabôclo, all that he achieves
> Is to be usher.

*563 792 829 [797] In the religious orders, directed in general by European monks or of European structure, the prejudice that maintains that the métis find it difficult to be faithful to the vow of chastity persisted for a long time. Such a belief must have strongly influenced the opposition to the ordination of colored religious. An /76/ intellectual of dark color relates that during his youth, more than 40 years ago, he, wishing to become a priest, entered a religious order, but the superior of the monastery to which he applied, a Spaniard, advised him to seek another path. Astonished by this refusal, he demanded an explanation, and the superior told him that he might find it difficult to subject himself to the discipline, because men of his type are obliged to make great efforts to remain chaste. And since the informant thought that in the secular clergy he would be very much in danger of betraying his trust, he gave up his idea. Thus, even today, the religious orders include very few métis. [178] The situation is beginning to improve, however, with the ordination of some moreno and light mulatto monks; in an apostolic school in which one of these orders trains young men wishing to embrace the religious life, there is at present a majority of pardos and cabôclos recruited from among modest families of the interior, particularly in the rural area of the northeastern part of the State of Bahia. Light mulattoes, ordained in the course of recent years, have been trained in the same school. In the female religious orders the difficulties for the acceptance of colored girls are very much greater. Not only are some of them directed by European religious, but there still persists the Portuguese

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